

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, CY, US, SOPN
SUBJECT: AUGUST 9 PRESS CONFERENCE BY SECRETARY CLARK CLIFFORD

REF: ANKARA 5961 (NOTAL)

FOLLOWING IS THE UNOFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT, PREPARED BY USIS
NICOSIA, OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE HELD BY MR. CLARK CLIFFORD
AT THE AMERICAN CENTER, NICOSIA, ON TUESDAY, AUGUST 9, 1977,
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THE DAY AFTER THE BURIAL OF ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS. MR. CLIFFORD
WAS IN CYPRUS AS PART OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION ATTENDING
THE FUNERAL: QUOTE

PRESS CONFERENCE BY CLARK CLIFFORD

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT:

IT IS GOOD TO BE IN CYPRUS AGAIN, ALTHOUGH I REGRET DEEPLY THE TRAGIC EVENT THAT BROUGHT US HERE THIS PARTICULAR TIME. BUT THE WARMTH OF THE GREETING BY THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE IS ALWAYS DEEPLY TOUCHING. I SHOULD LIKE TO MAKE SOME INFORMAL COMMENTS WITH REFERENCE TO MY RELATIONSHIP WITH ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS. OTHERS HAVE COMMENTED AT CONSIDERABLE LENGTH ABOUT HIS ABILITY AS A STATESMAN AND HIS STANDING AS A WORLD FIGURE AND THE LEADERSHIP HE GAVE TO THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS. I WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK BRIEFLY ABOUT THE ARCHBISHOP AS A FRIEND. HE HAD AN UNUSUAL CAPACITY TO EXTEND HIS PERSONAL WARMTH TO THOSE WHOM HE CHOSE TO CALL HIS FRIENDS AND I WAS DEEPLY HONORED THAT HE FELT THAT I WAS A FRIEND OF HIS. IN OUR MEETINGS THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WAS EXCEEDINGLY FORTHRIGHT AND THE UNDERSTANDING THAT DEVELOPED BETWEEN US BROUGHT ME A SENSE OF GREAT PRIDE. HE HAD THE UNUSUAL CAPACITY TO BE A VERY FINE FRIEND AND IT IS IN THIS RECOLLECTION THAT I HAVE SUCH A WARM FEELING IN MY HEART FOR THIS GREAT MAN. WHEN I ARRIVED ON SUNDAY AFTERNOON FROM THE AIRPORT TO THE HOTEL AND OTHER PLACES, REPORTERS AND MEMBERS OF THE MEDIA SUGGESTED THAT THEY MIGHT HAVE QUESTIONS AND THEY WANTED TO TALK ABOUT THE MISSION THAT I CAME ON EARLIER AND WHAT THE PRESENT DEVELOPMENTS WERE. IT SEEMES INAPPROPRIATE TO HAVE INDIVIDUAL MEETINGS OF THAT KIND BECAUSE IT DOES NOT GIVE THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE PRESS AND MEDIA THE SAME OPPORTUNITY TO ASK QUESTIONS AND GET ANSWERS; SO IN EACH INSTANCE I SUGGESTED THAT INSTEAD OF ANSWERING THE INDIVIDUAL QUESTIONS I WOULD WAIT AND SEE IF IT WERE NOT APPROPRIATE FOR ME TO GIVE A BRIEF CON-

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REFERENCE OF THIS KIND SO THAT I COULD HAVE THEM ALL AT ONCE. THE MAJOR THOUGHT THAT I WISH TO LEAVE WITH ALL OF YOU IS THAT THE UNITED STATES IS JUST AS INTERESTED TODAY AND JUST AS DEDICATED TODAY TO ASSISTING CYPRUS IN FINDING THE SOLUTION TO ITS PROBLEMS AS IT WAS WHEN PRESIDENT CARTER MADE THE DECISION IN JANUARY TO SELECT A PERSONAL EMISSARY AND SEND HIM TO THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. I BELIEVE THAT HIS SENSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF CYPRUS HAS BEEN DRAMATICALLY EVIDENCED THESE LAST TWO DAYS HERE BECAUSE HE SELECTED AS THE DELEGATION SOME OF THE LEADING FIGURES IN AMERICAN LIFE. THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES IS ONE OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED AND MOST HONORED CITIZENS IN OUR ENTIRE COUNTRY, AND THE PRESIDENT SELECTED HIM TO BE ONE OF THE DELEGATION. I THOUGHT IT WAS PARTICULARLY APPEALING AND IT WAS REALLY QUITE TOUCHING TO ME THAT THE PRESIDENT WISHED TO INJECT A PERSONAL NOTE INTO HIS REGARD FOR CYPRUS AND ITS PEOPLE, SO HE SELECTED HIS SISTER AS PART OF THE DELEGATION AND I THINK THAT SHE HAS LEARNED MUCH HERE ABOUT THIS BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY OF YOURS AND HAS HAD MUCH CONTACT WITH THE PEOPLE, AND I THINK THAT THERE IS A SENSE OF, CERTAINLY APPRECIATION ON MY PART, THAT HE WANTED TO EXTEND THIS PERSONAL NOTE TOGETHER WITH THE MORE FORMAL DELEGATION. HE SELECTED SOME OF THE LEADERS IN OUR SENATE, SOME OF THE LEADERS IN OUR HOUSE AND A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT AND OUTSTANDING BUSINESSMEN FROM

PRIVATE LIFE, SO THAT ALL OF THE SEGMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES
HAD AN APPRECIATION FOR THIS MAN AND WISHED TO BE PRESENT TO PAY
THEIR FINAL RESPECTS TO HIM. WHEN THE PRESIDENT HAD THE FIRST
CONCEPT OF SENDING A DELEGATION HERE IT WAS BECAUSE HE RECOGNIZED
THE IMPORTANCE OF CYPRUS IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. AS YOU MAY
KNOW THE UNITED STATES FOR MANY, MANY YEARS HAS EVIDENCED AN
ACUTE AND EVEN SIGNAL INTEREST IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. OUR
SOLE AIM HAS BEEN TO HELP STABILIZE THIS PART OF THE WORLD; AND
AS LONG AS THE KIND OF DIFFICULTY CONTINUES THAT HAS EXISTED IN
CYPRUS IT LENDS AN INSTABILITY TO THIS PART OF THE MEDITERRANEAN.
THE PRESIDENT VERY MUCH WANTS PEACE IN THE WORLD AND HE VERY MUCH

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WANTS PEACE HERE. AND THE DIFFICULTY SURROUNDING CYPRUS CONSTI-
TUTES A CONSTANT THREAT, IT SEEMS TO HIM, TO GAINING GREATER STA-
BILITY AND A MORE ENDURING PEACE IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD, SO

THAT NOT ONLY HAS HE BEEN INTERESTED, AND NOT ONLY HAS HE WORKED
IN THIS REGARD FOR THE PAST SIX MONTHS THAT HE'S BEEN IN OFFICE,
BUT IT IS HIS INTENTION AND OUR AIM TO CARRYING OUT HIS THOUGHT
THAT WE SHALL CONTINUE IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE TO ATTEMPT TO FIND
A SOLUTION. SOMETIMES IT MOVES RATHER WELL, SOMETIMES THE TASK
SEEMS TO SLOW UP AND BECOME MORE DIFFICULT, BUT THAT IS THE WAY
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IT IS WITH EVERY COMPLEX PROBLEM OF THIS KIND. WE HAVE HAD SOME
PROBLEMS LATELY; THE PASSING OF THIS GREAT MAN CONSTITUTES A PROB-
LEM OF SOME DIMENSION TO US, AND IT SEEMS NOW THAT INSTEAD OF ONE
MAN REPRESENTING CYPRUS THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS HAVE NOW BECOME THE
VITAL FACTOR IN DEALING WITH YOUR COUNTRY. SO I LEAVE WITH YOU
THE STRONGEST TYPE OF MESSAGE THAT WE SHALL CONTINUE TO BE AVAIL-
ABLE TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS THAT EXIST, THAT WE INTEND TO KEEP
UP OUR CONTACTS WITH THE OTHER NATIONS WHO ARE INVOLVED. OUR
PROBLEMS ARE SUCH THAT THEY ARE NOT SOLVED WITH AN OCCASIONAL
VISIT TO THE AREA, BUT WE ARE IN CONSTANT CONTACT WITH THE OTHER
POWERS INVOLVED THROUGH VISITS AT REGULAR INTERVALS WITH THEIR
AMBASSADORS, CORRESPONDING FROM TIME TO TIME WITH THE LEADERS OF
THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES. WHEN HIS BEATITUDE WAS IN LONDON LAST
AT THE COMMONWEALTH MEETING I TELEPHONED HIM FROM WASHINGTON, AND
FOR HALF AN HOUR WE EXCHANGED THOUGHTS AND IMPRESSIONS. I WAS
PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN TALKING AT THAT TIME BECAUSE HE'D HAD
THE FIRST MINOR CORONARY ATTACK AND WE DISCUSSED THAT AT SOME
LENGTH, BUT WE'VE REMAINED IN VERY CLOSE TOUCH, WE WORKED FROM WEEK
TO WEEK IN AN EFFORT TO FIND A SOLUTION. NOW FINALLY PERHAPS WE
MAY ALL RECOGNIZE TOGETHER THAT A DIFFICULT PERIOD LIES AHEAD FOR
CYPRUS. YOU'VE LOST YOUR GREAT LEADER WHO STOOD FOR SO MUCH IN
THIS PART OF THE WORLD, AND IN FACT ALL OVER THE WORLD, AND NOW
YOU HAVE THIS PERIOD OF INTERREGNUM BETWEEN NOW AND FEBRUARY, I'D
LIKE TO LEAVE THE THOUGHT, TOO, THAT AT THIS PARTICULAR TIME THE
UNITED STATES IS AVAILABLE IN EVERY WAY THAT THE CYPRIOTS FEEL
THAT WE CAN BE HELPFUL. WE OBVIOUSLY HAVE NO INTENTION OF INTER-
FERING WITH INTERNAL CYPRIOT AFFAIRS, BUT AT A TIME OF DIFFICULTY
YOU LIKE TO KNOW THAT A FRIEND IS AVAILABLE AND WE ARE YOUR
FRIEND AND WE WISH TO DEMONSTRATE THAT, IN EVERY REASONABLE WAY
THAT WE CAN. I AM READY FOR ANY QUESTIONS THAT YOU MIGHT.....

QUESTION: MR. CLIFFORD, WHEN YOUR PRESIDENT CARTER EXPRESSED
OPPOSITION TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN OCCUPIED
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ARAB TERRITORIES -- WHAT IS THE AMERICAN POSITION WITH REGARD TO
THE TURKISH PLANS FOR THE COLONIZATION OF FAMAGUSTA?

ANSWER: I HAVE HEARD VARYING REPORTS ABOUT FAMAGUSTA, I HEARD ABOUT IT BEFORE I LEFT WASHINGTON FOR THIS TRIP, WE WERE NOTIFIED OF DEVELOPMENTS THAT WERE THERE; I DO NOT KNOW THE DETAILS OF THE CHANGES THAT MAY OR MAY NOT BE TAKING PLACE. I SAY ONLY THAT BECAUSE THIS ENTIRE PROBLEM THAT EXISTS HERE IN CYPRUS IS OF SUCH SENSITIVITY AND SUCH DELICACY I WOULD HOPE THAT NEITHER SIDE WOULD CONDUCT ITSELF IN SUCH A MANNER AS TO ADD TO THE PROBLEM. I WOULD HOPE THAT THERE WOULD BE AN ATTITUDE OF FOREBEARANCE. THE LAST THING WE NEED AT THIS PARTICULAR STAGE IS THE INJECTION OF NEW PROBLEMS TO AN ALREADY VERY COMPLICATED AND VERY DIFFICULT POSTURE OF AFFAIRS.

QUESTION: THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT INDICATED IT WOULD RECOGNIZE THE NEW PRESIDENT TO BE ELECTED IN SUCCESSION TO PRESIDENT MAKARIOS, AS PRESIDENT OF THE WHOLE OF CYPRUS, AND THERE IS NO DOUBT THIS IS THE ATTITUDE OF THE UN AND ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD. HAS THE USA ATTITUDE ON THE SUBJECT BEEN MADE CLEAR TO ANKARA?

ANSWER: I CAN GIVE ONLY WHAT I BELIEVE TO BE THE POLICY OF OUR COUNTRY. WE HAVE RECOGNIZED THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS. WE HAVE A FULL DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGE WITH THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF YOUR COUNTRY THERE IS A SUCCESSION WHEN THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNTRY IS TAKEN IN THIS MANNER. WE ASSUME THAT YOUR CONSTITUTION WILL BE CARRIED THROUGH ITS PRESENT FORM, AND THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO RECOGNIZE THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS EXACTLY AS WE HAVE IN THE PAST.

QUESTION: HERE IN CYPRUS WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT YOU HAVE SOME RESPONSIBILITY, AND GREAT RESPONSIBILITY, CONCERNING THE FIASCO IN VIENNA, OF THE VIENNA TALKS. FIRST OF ALL ABOUT THE PROMISES YOU GAVE TO ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS, AND SECOND YOU FAILED TO COMMENT ON THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FIASCO OF THE VIENNA TALKS. WOULD YOU LIKE TO COMMENT, PLEASE?

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ANSWER: THE DIFFERENCE IN PUBLIC OPINION AS TO EVENTS THAT TAKE PLACE, I THINK, IS DRAMATICALLY ILLUSTRATED BY THE QUESTION. FOR THOSE OF YOU WHO DID NOT HEAR THE QUESTION, LET ME SAY THAT IN NATURE IT WAS, HOW CAN WE EXPLAIN THE FIASCO THAT TOOK PLACE IN VIENNA, HOW CAN WE JUSTIFY THAT WITH REFERENCE TO THE UNDERSTANDING WE HAD WITH ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS? LET ME SAY AT THE VERY BEGINNING THAT THE MEETING IN VIENNA WAS NOT A FIASCO. WE HOPED THAT WE WOULD MAKE MORE SUBSTANTIAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS THAN WE DID. AND WE REGRETED THAT MORE WAS NOT ACCOMPLISHED. BUT WE UNCLASSIFIED

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ARE NOT IN CONTROL OF THAT. WHAT WE DID DO WAS HAVE AN UNDERSTANDING WITH EACH SIDE THAT MEMORANDA WOULD BE PLACED UPON THE TABLE THAT WOULD SERVE AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSIONS; THAT IN ITSELF CONSTITUTED SOME DEGREE OF PROGRESS, MINOR THOUGH IT MAY HAVE BEEN. IN MY TALKS WITH THE ARCHBISHOP PRIOR TO VIENNA, I SUGGESTED THAT WE FELT THAT THIS WAS A GOOD BEGINNING; IT HAD NEVER TAKEN PLACE TO DATE IN ALL THE EFFORTS THAT HAD BEEN MADE, FOR EACH SIDE TO PLACE A MEMORANDUM ON THE TABLE. THE TWO GREAT ISSUES WERE THE QUESTION OF THE DIVISION BETWEEN THE TWO ZONES, AND WE FELT THE DISCUSSIONS SHOULD BEGIN ON THAT. AND THE OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTION WAS, WHAT WOULD BE THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT, WHAT KIND OF CONSTITUTION WOULD IT HAVE? AND WE WISHED THE PARTIES TO DIRECT THEMSELVES TO THESE TWO IMPORTANT ISSUES, SO

THAT THERE IS SOME JUSTIFICATION FOR FEELING THAT A DEGREE OF PROGRESS DID OCCUR. AT NO TIME DID ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS FEEL THAT IN ANY WAY ANY ARRANGEMENT OR UNDERSTANDING OR COMMITMENT THAT I HAD WITH HIM HAD BEEN VIOLATED. HE UNDERSTOOD THE DIFFICULTIES OF IT; THE ARRANGEMENT I HAD WITH HIM ABOUT HIS PRESENTING A MEMORANDUM WAS FAITHFULLY CARRIED OUT BY HIM, AS IS HIS VERY NATURE AND IS THE EXPERIENCE OF ALL THOSE WHO HAVE DEALT WITH HIM. NOW THE MERE FACT THAT IT DID NOT PRODUCE THE RESULTS THAT WE HOPED FOR DID NOT DISCOURAGE US, IT MERELY LEADS US TO THE BELIEVE THAT WE MUST WORK HARDER. AND BECAUSE SOMETIMES YOU ENCOUNTER INTRANSIGENCE ON THE PART OF ONE OF THE NEGOTIATING PARTIES DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE INTEND TO GIVE UP. IT MERELY MEANS THAT WE INTEND TO STAY WITH IT, PERHAPS MORE FAITHFULLY THAN WE MIGHT HAVE OTHERWISE. SO OUR INTENT IS TO CONTINUE TO DO ALL THAT WE CAN TO KEEP THE PARTIES IN THIS TYPE OF NEGOTIATION. NOW, IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS THERE HAVE BEEN SOME DEVELOPMENTS WHICH MIGHT DISCOURAGE SOME, FOR INSTANCE THE PASSING OF THIS FINE MAN, BUT THERE WILL BE OTHER TIMES IN WHICH THE FORTUNE THAT RESULTS WILL BE A BENEFIT TO US. AND ALTHOUGH OUR ULTIMATE REACHING OF OUR GOAL MAY BE DELAYED, WE INTEND TO REACH IT JUST THE SAME.

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QUESTION: YOU SAID BEFORE THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ARE FRIENDS OF CYPRUS. MY QUESTION IS, WILL THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WORK FOR THE APPLICATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION FOR CYPRUS?

ANSWER: IN THAT REGARD WE ARE NOW EMBARKED ON A COURSE OF ACTION. WE'VE DONE IT WITH THE CONSENT OF HIS BEATITUDE, AND THE OUTLINE OF OUR EFFORT IS THAT THE UNITED STATES SHALL COME IN AND OFFER ITS GOOD SERVICES TO THE VARIOUS PARTIES INVOLVED, AND TO THE EXTENT THAT WE ARE PERMITTED TO BE OF ASSISTANCE, WE WANT TO CONTINUE WORKING IN EVERY WAY WE CAN USING WHATEVER POSSIBLE INFLUENCE WE HAVE TO TRY TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER. AND WHILE THIS EFFORT IS BEING MADE, AND WHILE IT STILL CONTINUES TO HOLD OUT WHAT I BELIEVE TO BE A PROMISE OF ULTIMATE SUCCESS, I THINK THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE DOWN THIS ROAD AND NOT GET OFF ON ANOTHER ROAD. AT SOME TIME THE PARTIES MAY WISH TO TURN TO THE UN. I WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE DOWN THIS PARTICULAR ROAD UNTIL WE KNOW THAT WE HAVE EITHER REACHED SUCCESS, WHICH I BELIEVE WILL BE THE RESULT, OR UNTIL WE DECIDE UPON SOME OTHER COURSE OF ACTION.

QUESTION: SIR, I AM FROM THE GREEK TELEVISION NETWORK. I UNDERSTAND FROM WHAT YOU HAVE SAID THAT WHAT IS BADLY NEEDED NOW IS A SHOW FROM ALL PARTIES CONCERNED OF GOODWILL. YESTERDAY, THE TURKS EXERCISED MILITARY MANOEUVRES JUST CLOSE HEREBY, IN KYTHREA. DO YOU THINK THAT THIS IS A SHOW OF GOODWILL ON THE PART OF THE TURKS?

ANSWER: I MAKE THE SAME KIND OF REPLY TO THAT, THAT I MADE TO-
WARD A PREVIOUS QUESTION INVOLVING FAMAGUSTA. AT THE TIME WHEN
WE ARE ALL WORKING TOGETHER, MEN OF GOOD WILL, THROUGH OUR GOOD
OFFICES, TO FIND THE SOLUTION TO THE COMPLEX PROBLEMS, I WOULD
LIKE TO VOICE AGAIN THE HOPE THAT DURING THIS TIME THE PARTIES
THEMSELVES WOULD NOT ENGAGE IN THAT KIND OF ACTIVITY OR THAT KIND
OF OPERATION WHICH CREATES THE FEELING OF CONCERN ON THE PART OF
EITHER SIDE, THAT TYPE OF ACTION WHICH APPEARS TO BE INCONSISTENT
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WITH THE DESIRE TO FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO OUR PROBLEMS.

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QUESTION: MR. CLIFFORD, ON YOUR RETURN FROM YOUR FIRST MISSION TO ATHENS, ANKARA AND NICOSIA, YOU WERE PUT ON RECORD AS SAYING THAT THIS PROBLEM, THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, WAS A MINOR ONE TO THE BIGGER PROBLEM OF THE AEGEAN CRISIS. WHAT ARE YOUR VIEWS TODAY, HOW WOULD YOU PLACE THE CYPRUS PROBLEM IN THE CONTEXT OF THE AEGEAN CRISIS, TODAY? IS THAT STILL THE MAJOR PROBLEM? IS IT STILL CONNECTED WITH THE CYPRUS PROBLEM?

ANSWER: I THINK IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE UNDER THESE CIRCUM-
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STANCES AND IN THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS TO DISCUSS THE AEGEAN PROBLEM. I SAY ONLY THAT THE UNITED STATES IS INTERESTED, WHENEVER FRIENDLY ALLIES HAVE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION AND DIFFICULTIES, IN HELPING TO RESOLVE WHATEVER THOSE DIFFICULTIES MIGHT BE. HERE IN CYPRUS IT IS MY INTENTION TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEMS OF CYPRUS. I DISCUSS THEM WITHIN A FRAMEWORK THAT WE WISH VERY MUCH TO MAINTAIN A FRIENDLY BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP NOT ONLY WITH CYPRUS BUT WITH GREECE AND ALSO WITH TURKEY. I CANNOT IN ANY WAY ASSOCIATE CYPRUS WITH NATO, BUT AT THE SAME TIME NATO HAS PERFORMED WELL, AND IF TWO OF OUR ALLIES IN THAT ALLIANCE HAVE PROBLEMS, THEN WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT IT. OUR INTEREST IN CYPRUS IS A MAJOR INTEREST, NOT ONLY BECAUSE WE LOVE THIS COUNTRY AND WE LOVE ITS PEOPLE, BUT BECAUSE CONTINUED INSTABILITY IN CYPRUS BRINGS ABOUT THE DANGER OF DIFFICULTY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO DO ALL IN OUR POWER TO PREVENT THAT BECAUSE IT WOULD BE DAMAGING TO THE INTERESTS OF FREE PEOPLE ALL OVER EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE, IF TROUBLE HERE RESULTED IN DIFFICULTY THAT MIGHT UNDER SOME CIRCUMSTANCES LEAD TO THE LOSS OF FREEDOM ON THE PART OF PEOPLE. SO I DO NOT SAY THAT CYPRUS CONSTITUTES A SECONDARY PROBLEM, I SAY THAT IT CONSTITUTES THE KIND OF PROBLEM WHICH LEADS US TO THE DETERMINATION THAT WE SHALL DO ALL IN OUR POWER TO SETTLE IT BEFORE PROBLEMS OF GREATER MAGNITUDE ARE BROUGHT INTO EXISTENCE.

QUESTION: DO YOU HAVE A PROGRAM FOR COMING TO CYPRUS? DO YOU INTEND TO COME TO CYPRUS TO SEE THE INTERESTED PARTIES IN THE NEAR FUTURE?

ANSWER: WE SHALL COME TO CYPRUS AT THOSE TIMES WHEN IT APPEARS TO BE OF ASSISTANCE TO US IN THE ULTIMATE ACHIEVEMENT OF OUR GOAL. WE WILL GO TO OTHER COUNTRIES WHEN IT SEEM APPROPRIATE. WE ARE MINDFUL OF THE FACT THAT THE NATIONS WITH WHOM WE ARE DEALING IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN ARE SOVEREIGN NATIONS. WE DO NOT IN-
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TEND TO INSERT OURSELVES IN ANY WAY INTO MATTERS WHERE WE ARE NOT WANTED. IF THE NATIONS IN THIS AREA DESIRE OUR ASSISTANCE, IF THEY FEEL THAT THE QUESTIONS ARE SUCH THAT THEY ARE LIKELY TO BE UNSETTLED WITHOUT THE INTERVENTION OF A THIRD PARTY, THEN WE ARE AVAILABLE TO ANY OF THESE COUNTRIES. AT THE SAME TIME WE CANNOT FORCE THEM TO SEE US. SO THAT WHAT WE SHALL DO IS CONTINUE TO REMAIN IN CONTACT WITH THEM, ALWAYS BEING AVAILABLE IN ANY RESPECT IN WHICH NATIONS OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN DESIRE OUR PRESENCE IN THE HOPE THAT OUR HELP WILL LEAD TO WHAT WE FINALLY DESIRE.

QUESTION: WHAT WOULD YOU SAY WILL BE THE PRINCIPAL RESULTS OF THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS WITH REGARD TO THE FUTURE SETTLEMENT OF CYPRUS?

ANSWER: I BELIEVE IT IS PROBABLY TOO EARLY AS YOU MIGHT SUPPOSE; WE AND OTHERS HAVE GIVEN THOUGHTFUL AND PRAYERFUL CONSIDERATION TO THAT. I THINK THAT VERY LIKELY THE FIRST REACTION IS THE FEELING OF SUCH ENORMOUS LOSS THAT THIS MAN WHO TOOK THE LEADERSHIP IN THIS FIELD IS WITH US NO LONGER. HIS DETERMINATION TO FIND A SOLUTION WAS VERY IMPRESSIVE. I WAS ALSO REPEATLY TAKEN BY HIS MODERATION IN THE TALKS THAT WE HAD. HE SAW VERY CLEARLY THAT THE ULTIMATE FUTURE OF CYPRUS LAY IN FINDING A PEACEFUL SOLUTION THAT WOULD BE AN ENDURING ONE, AND THE SIZE OF THE MAN AND HIS IMPACT ON AFFAIRS WAS SUCH THAT IT IS GOING TO TAKE A PERIOD OF ADJUSTMENT BEFORE WE CAN BRING OURSELVES TO UNDERSTAND THAT HE IS REALLY GONE. HOWEVER, WE SHALL BE UNDETERRED IN THAT REGARD BECAUSE HE WOULD HAVE WANTED IT THIS WAY. HIS LOVE OF CYPRUS AND HIS HOPE OF THIS COUNTRY FROM THE STANDPOINT OF ITS FUTURE WAS SUCH THAT HE WOULD HAVE BEEN THE FIRST TO SAY "NO MAN IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL -- IT IS THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS WHO ARE INVOLVED AND THEY WILL PICK UP THE CUDGELS IF I AM GONE AND CARRY THROUGH", AND THAT SHALL BE THE PHILOSOPHY THAT WE SHALL FOLLOW BECAUSE WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS HIS.

QUESTION: DURING YOUR PRESENT STAY IN CYPRUS DID YOU HAVE ANY TALKS WITH THE CYPRUS GOVERNMENT IN CONNECTION WITH YOUR SPECIAL UNCLASSIFIED

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MISSION, AND DID YOU HAVE ANY TALKS ON THE OTHER SIDE?

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ANSWER: I DID NOT HAVE ANY FORMAL MEETINGS WITH ANY OFFICIAL
OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS. WE CAME BECAUSE WE WANTED TO PAY OUR
LAST RESPECTS TO HIS BEATITUDE. I ATTENDED THE RECEPTION GIVEN
FOR ALL DELEGATIONS LAST NIGHT AT WHICH I PAID MY RESPECTS TO,
OF COURSE, MR. KYPRIANOU WHO WAS CONDUCTING THE RECEPTION, AND
I STOPPED AND TALKED WITH A NUMBER OF MY FRIENDS, AMONG WHOM WAS
THE FOREIGN MINISTER, BUT ABOUT GENERAL MATTERS AND MOSTLY ABOUT
HIS BEATITUDE. SO THAT NO FORMAL DIPLOMATIC TALKS WERE HELD WITH
ANY OFFICIAL. I MIGHT SAY I WOULD LIKE YOU ALL TO KNOW THAT WE
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EXTENDED AN INVITATION TO THE TURKISH SECTION ADVISING THEM THAT
WE WERE HAVING THIS PRESS CONFERENCE AND TELLING THEM THAT ANY
REPORTERS OR ANY OTHER INDIVIDUALS FROM THE NORTH WOULD BE WEL-
COME TO ATTEND THE PRESS CONFERENCE. THEY CHOSE, APPARENTLY, NOT
TO GIVE THEM PERMISSION TO ATTEND.

QUESTION: SIR, LAST FEBRUARY WHEN YOU WERE HERE YOU SAID THAT

YOU WERE OPTIMISTIC THAT DURING THIS YEAR WE SHALL HAVE SOME POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS ABOUT CYPRUS. ARE YOU STILL OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THESE DEVELOPMENTS, THAT WE SHALL HAVE SOME DEVELOPMENTS THIS YEAR OR EARLY NEXT YEAR?

ANSWER: I WAS HERE IN FEBRUARY, SIX MONTHS AGO. THE MEETING THAT WE HAD HAD IN ATHENS AND MEETINGS THAT WE HAD HAD IN ANKARA AND THOSE IN NICOSIA GAVE ME A FEELING OF SUBSTANTIAL ENCOURAGEMENT THAT WE WERE MAKING PROGRESS. AND I EXPRESSED THE WISH AND THE HOPE AT THAT TIME THAT WE WOULD HAVE A VERY SUBSTANTIAL PART OF THE PROBLEM SOLVED BY THE END OF 1977. ONE CAN STILL HOPE THAT, ALTHOUGH I THINK THAT IT IS NOT QUITE AS NEAR AS WE PERHAPS WOULD HAVE HOPED AT THAT TIME. BUT EVENTS TAKE PLACE IN NEGOTIATIONS OF THIS KIND WHICH AFFECT THE TIMING OF THE ULTIMATE RESULT. SO THAT THERE ARE EVENTS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE -- THE DEATH OF THIS FINE MAN, POSSIBLY ELECTIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES -- SO EVENTS TAKE PLACE FROM TIME TO TIME WHICH CHANGE A TIMETABLE. I WOULD SAY THAT I STILL HOPE THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE SOME PROGRESS THIS YEAR AND THAT AS WE GET INTO NEXT YEAR WE WILL HAVE BEHIND US A BACKGROUND OF CONTACTS AND ASSOCIATIONS AND THE EXCHANGE OF THOUGHTS THAT WE HOPE WOULD LEAD TO THE TYPE OF SOLUTION THAT WE HAVE IN MIND NEXT YEAR. BUT LET ME REITERATE AGAIN THAT MERELY BECAUSE WE FEEL THAT POSSIBLY THE TIMETABLE WE HAD HOPED FOR WOULD NOT BE ATTAINABLE DOES NOT MEAN THAT THAT CONSTITUTES ANY SENSE OF DISCOURAGEMENT ON OUR PART; MAYBE IT JUST MEANS WE ARE GOING TO WORK A LITTLE HARDER.

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QUESTION: MAY I ASK A VERY BLUNT QUESTION? WHICH OF CYPRUS' PRESENT POLITICAL LEADERS IS THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT'S CHOICE OR PREFERENCE FOR THE PRESIDENCY?

ANSWER: WELL, YOU CERTAINLY DID DESCRIBE THE QUESTION ACCURATELY. IT IS A VERY BLUNT QUESTION? OBVIOUSLY, THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT INTEND TO CONCERN ITSELF OR INSERT ITSELF INTO THE INTERNAL GOVERNMENT OR POLITICS OF ANOTHER COUNTRY. THIS IS A MATTER SOLELY WITHIN THE PROVINCE OF THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS AND NOT ONLY WOULD THE UNITED STATES NOT INSERT ITSELF IN ANY WAY, IT WOULD NOT, EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, EXPRESS ANY OPINION IN ANY WAY THAT COULD BE INTERPRETED AS SOME METHOD THAT IT MIGHT USE TO INFLUENCE THE PEOPLE CYPRUS.

QUESTION: SIR, YOU EARLIER REFERRED TO ONE OF THE PARTIES IN THE CONFLICT BEING INTRANSIGENT; RATHER DIPLOMATICALLY YOU DID NOT SAY WHICH. YOU JUST SAID THAT WE JOURNALISTS ARE BLUNT PEOPLE; WOULD YOU TELL US WHO IS THE INTRANSIGENT PARTY?

ANSWER: IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE AT THIS TIME FOR ME TO MAKE COMPARISONS AMONG THE PARTIES. THE PRESS CONFERENCE THAT WE ARE

HAVING TODAY IS BEING CONDUCTED IN CYPRUS; AT THE SAME TIME I
WOULD GIVE THE SAME ANSWERS WERE I IN ATHENS OR WERE I IN
ANKARA OR WERE I IN WASHINGTON, D.C. IT IS THE HOPE OF THE
UNITED STATES THAT IT CAN CONTINUE TO HAVE A FRIENDLY BILATERAL
RELATIONSHIP WITH ALL THREE COUNTRIES. WE HAVE A LONG HISTORY
OF FRIENDSHIP WITH GREECE, WE HAVE A LONG HISTORY OF FRIENDSHIP
WITH TURKEY. AS A MATTER OF FACT IT IS THOSE RELATIONSHIPS THAT
WE HAVE WITH GREECE AND TURKEY THAT WE THINK WILL BE HELPFUL
TO US IN OUR EFFORTS TO BRING SOME ULTIMATE SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS
PROBLEM. SO THAT FROM TIME TO TIME WE MAY UNDERSTAND, SOMETIMES
BETTER SOMETIMES WORSE, THE ATTITUDES OF THE COUNTRIES WITH WHOM
WE ARE DEALING. BUT IT IS NOT OUR EFFORT TO CAST REFLECTIONS
UPON ONE. WE ARE JUST AS ANXIOUS TO MAINTAIN PROPER AND FRIENDLY
RELATIONSHIPS WITH TURKEY AS WE ARE WITH THE OUTHER COUNTRIES
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WITH WHOM WE ARE INVOLVED. AND IT IS IMPORTANT TO US THAT THESE
COUNTRIES REMAIN STRONG SO THAT THEY CAN HELP SUPPORT FREEDOM
NOT ONLY IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD, BUT ALL THROUGH WESTERN
EUROPE.

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ACTION EUR-12

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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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USCINCEUR FOR POLAD; USDOCOSOUTH FOR POLAD; BRUSSELS FOR USEEC

QUESTION: IN THE KARPASS AREA THERE ARE STILL 2,000 GREEK CYPRIOTS WHO LIVE UNDER SUB-HUMAN CONDITIONS. WILL IT BE POSSIBLE FOR THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO OFFER ITS ASSISTANCE SO THAT THESE UNFORTUNATE PEOPLE WOULD BE ABLE TO LIVE A MORE OR LESS NORMAL LIFE? FOR INSTANCE, WILL IT BE POSSIBLE TO PRESS FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF VIENNA III AGREEMENT UNTIL A GENERAL SETTLEMENT IS FOUND?

ANSWER: THE UNITED STATES HAS FELT A DEEP SENSE OF CONCERN OVER THE PLIGHT OF REFUGEES AS A RESULT OF ACTIVITIES THAT OCCURRED IN 1974. NOT ONLY HAVE WE FELT A DEGREE OF CONCERN OVER
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IT BUT WE HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DO A GOOD DEAL ABOUT IT. I ASKED ABOUT IT YESTERDAY AND I WAS COMFORTED AND PLEASED TO FIND THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS NOW BUILT 22,000 BUILDING UNITS, THE AVERAGE INHABITANCY OF EACH OF THOSE UNITS IS 4 PEOPLE. SO THE UNITED STATES HAS BUILT HOUSING FOR 88,000 CYPRIOTS. I AM PROUD OF THAT AND I WOULD ANTICIPATE THAT PROBABLY THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS ARE PROUD OF IT.

QUESTION: I'M SORRY, MR. CLIFFORD, BUT I THINK YOU HAVE MIS-UNDERSTOOD MY QUESTION. THESE PEOPLE ARE IN THE KARPASS AREA, IN THE NORTHERN PART. THESE 2,000 GREEK CYPRIOTS ARE STILL IN THE OCCUPIED AREAS.

ANSWER: I WAS AWARE OF THAT AND I THINK THAT THAT CONSTITUTES ONE FACET OF THE OVERALL PROBLEM. I DON'T BELIEVE THAT THAT PARTICULAR ONE PHASE IS LIKELY TO BE SETTLED WITHOUT THE OTHER PROBLEMS THAT EXIST BEING SETTLED. I DOUBT THAT THERE IS GOING TO BE THE KIND OF SETTLEMENT ON AN ITEM BY ITEM BASIS. THAT WOULD BE QUITE UNUSUAL; THAT'S NOT THE MANNER IN WHICH COMPLICATED COMPLEX DIFFICULTIES OF THIS KIND ARE DISPOSED OF. I WOULD ASSUME AND HOPE THAT WOULD BE ONE OF THE FACTORS THAT WOULD BE SETTLED, AND SETTLED PROPERLY, WHEN THE TIME COMES FOR US TO CONCLUDE THE ULTIMATE AGREEMENT.

QUESTION: MR. CLIFFORD, YOU SPOKE ABOUT HOUSING OF 88,000 PEOPLE HERE IN CYPRUS. BUT YOU ARE AGAINST THE RETURN OF OUR REFUGEES TO THEIR HOMES AS PROVIDED BY THE UN RESOLUTIONS?

ANSWER: NO, I AM NOT AT ALL. I WOULD HOPE THAT WHEN WE AGAIN FIND THE SOLUTION THAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT, THAT THERE WOULD BE A FREE RIGHT OF CHOICE, THAT THAT WOULD BE PART OF AN ULTIMATE SETTLEMENT. OBVIOUSLY MANY ADJUSTMENTS WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE, BUT I AM TALKING ABOUT IN THE INTERIM PERIOD, WHILE WE ARE UNCLASSIFIED

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WORKING TOWARD THE END RESULT, THAT WE ARE GRATIFIED THAT WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO MAKE THIS KIND OF CONTRIBUTION SO THAT THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THESE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN IMPROVED SUBSTANTIALLY.

I THINK I COULD PERHAPS TAKE ONE MORE QUESTION.

QUESTION: MY COLLEAGUE FROM ATHENS SAYS THAT THE PEOPLE OF GREECE REGARD THE NEW AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO GREECE, MR. SCHAUFELLE AS A PERSONNA NON GRATA BECAUSE OF THE STATEMENTS MADE BY HIM ABOUT "UNUSUAL GEOGRAPHIC ARRANGEMENTS IN THE AEGEAN". IS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT GOING TO RESPECT THIS WILL OF THE PEOPLE OF GREECE?

ANSWER: THE MATTER IS PENDING AT THE PRESENT TIME. NO DECISION HAS BEEN REACHED ABOUT IT. IT IS A MATTER IN WHICH THE GREEK GOVERNMENT AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ARE IN CONSULTATION. I THINK IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE TO MAKE ANY COMMENT, I BELIEVE IT ULTIMATELY WILL BE WORKED OUT TO THE SATISFACTION OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS. SO I THINK WHILE THE PARTIES ARE IN DISCUSSION OVER IT, IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE FOR OTHERS, INCLUDING ME, TO HAVE ANY COMMENT WITH REFERENCE TO IT. NOW I AGREED TO TAKE A QUESTION FROM YOU.

QUESTION: WHY DO SO MANY CYPRIOTS, AND SO MANY GREEKS FIND IT VERY DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE OFFICIAL UNITED STATES DISCLAIMERS OF THE INTENTION TO INSERT THEMSELVES INTO INTERNAL CYPRIOT AFFAIRS?

ANSWER: WELL, IF I UNDERSTAND THE QUESTION, IT IS MY EXPERIENCE, AND I HAVE BEEN CLOSELY INVOLVED IN THIS MATTER NOW FOR SOME TIME, THAT THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT CHOOSE TO HAVE ANY IMPACT UPON THE POLICIES THAT ARE DECIDED UPON BY THE CYPRIOT GOVERNMENT. WE HAVE MENTIONED TO THE GOVERNMENT, AS I DID TO HIS BEATITUDE, THAT WE WERE AVAILABLE TO LEND OUR GOOD SERVICES. I AM NOT CONCIOUS OF OUR HAVING TAKEN ANY POSITION WHATSOEVER WITH REFERENCE TO THE QUESTION OF SUCCESSION TO HIS BEATITUDE, I AM NOT CONCIOUS THAT WE HAVE ATTEMPTED IN ANY WAY TO AFFECT THE ATTITUDE OF POLICIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS, I AM ONLY CONCIOUS OF THE UNCLASSIFIED

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FACT THAT WE HAVE TREATED CYPRUS AS WE TREAT OUR OTHER FRIENDLY

NEIGHBORS, AND THAT IS AS AN INDEPENDENT, SOVERIGN STATE AND WE
WILL CONTINUE TO DO THAT. HIS BEATITUDE SAID TO ME HIS MAJOR,
DEEPEST HOPE WAS THAT THE DAY WOULD COME WHEN CYPRUS AS AN
INDEPENDENT, SOVERIGN STATE, WOULD HAVE ITS PROBLEM SETTLED AND
WOULD BE ABLE TO TAKE ITS PLACE IN THE FAMILY OF NATIONS WITH THE
KIND OF GOVERNMENT THAT WOULD BE ABLE TO CONDUCT THE COUNTRY ON
A BASIS OF AN INDEPENDENT TYPE OF REPUBLIC. THAT IS WHAT WE
ARE INTERESTED IN. WE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN ANY OTHER KIND OF
CYPRUS. WE WANT CYPRUS TO BE INDEPENDENT, WE WANT IT TO BE FREE
AND WE WILL DO ALL IN OUR POWER TO ASSURE THESE TWO WORTHY
GOALS. THANK YOU VERY MUCH. CRAWFORD

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